Tells the Facts and Names the Names **$2.50**

April 16-30, 2006 *Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair* VOL. 13, NO. 8

Ginsburg's "Howl" 50 Years Later

By Lenni Brenner

I don't remember the exact dates of my many encounters with Allen Ginsberg. But it would be hard for anyone to forget where we first met.

I had run into a buddy, "Spade Charlie" Hameal. His woman, a white, owned the Cafe East, on Manhattan's 6th Street, between 1st and 2nd Avenues. It was a good-sized place, but hardly in business. Charlie wanted to sell marijuana from the kitchen without his gal knowing about it. Her bulb wasn't lit, and it was doable, if she had no reason to go into it. So I joined him as crime-partner and dishwasher.

Months later in 1958, we closed around 3 a.m. and went across 6th to The $ Sign, a tiny all-night cafe. Owner Barron Buckholst descended from the Barrons of Wall Street and the money behind O'Sullivan's heels. Peyote was still legal. He bought it by the freight car from the Southwest and sold retail, discreetly.

A customer came in. U.S. customs had impounded Ginsberg's poem *Howl* for obscenity in March 1957. When the feds dropped charges, the San Francisco police juvenile division sued publisher Lawrence Ferlinghetti for selling lewd material. The ACLU won the case in October. Ginsberg's picture was everywhere. We asked his name. "Allen."

We chatted for about two hours, beginning with his experiences after the publicity started. As Charlie's specialty was reciting Baudelaire in French and English, we got deep into poetry. But I particularly remember Barron's "I think people are gay to be

(**Howl** *continued on page 5*)

The US Government and the Israel Lobby

Who's the Dog? Who's the Tail?

By Uri Avnery

I don't usually tell these stories be cause they might give rise to the suspicion that I am paranoid.

For example: 27 years ago, I was invited to give a lecture tour in 30 American universities, including all the most prestigious ones - Harvard, Yale, Princeton, MIT, Berkeley and so on. My host was the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a respected non-Jewish organization. The lectures themselves were to be held under the auspices of the Jewish Bet-Hillel chaplains.

On arrival at the airport in New York I was met by one of the organizers. "There is a slight hitch," he told me, "29 of the Rabbis have cancelled your lecture."

In the end, all the lectures did take place, under the auspices of Christian chaplains. When we came to the lone Rabbi who had not cancelled my lecture, he told me the secret: the lectures had been forbidden in a confidential letter from the Anti-Defamation League, the thought-police of the Jewish establishment. The salient phrase has stuck to my memory: "While it cannot be said that Member of the Knesset Avnery is a traitor, yet…"

Another story from real life: a year later I went to Washington D.C. in order to "sell" the Two-State solution, which at the time was considered an outlandish, not to say crazy, idea. In the course of the visit, the Quakers were so kind as to arrange a press conference for me.

When I arrived, I was amazed. The hall was crammed full, practically all the important American media were represented. Many had come straight from a press conference held by Golda Meir, who was also in town. The event was to last an hour, as is usual, but the journalists did not let go. They bombarded me with questions for another two hours. Clearly, what I had to say was quite new to them and they were interested.

I was curious how this would be reported in the media. And indeed, the reaction was stunning: not a word appeared in any of the newspapers, on radio or TV. Not one single word.

By the way, three years ago I again held a press conference, this time on Capitol Hill in Washington. It was an exact replica of the last time: the crowd of reporters, their obvious interest, the continuation of the conference well beyond the appointed time - and not a single word in the media.

I could tell some more stories like these, but the point is made. I recount them only in connection with the scandal recently caused by two American professors, Stephen Walt of Harvard and John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago. They published a research paper on the influence of the Israel lobby in the United States.

In 80 pages, 40 of them footnotes and sources, the two show how the pro-Israel lobby exercises unbridled power in the US capital, how it terrorizes the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, how the White House dances to its tune (if indeed a house can dance), how the important media obey its orders and how the universities, too, live in fear of it.

The paper caused a storm. And I don't mean the predictable wild attacks by the "friends of Israel" - which means almost all politicians, journalists and professors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These pelted the authors with all the usual accusations: that they were anti-Semites, that they were resurrecting the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and so forth. There was something paradoxical in these attacks, since they only illustrated the authors' case.

But the debate that fascinates me is of a different nature. It broke out between senior intellectuals, from the legendary Noam Chomsky, the guru of the Left throughout the world (including Israel), to progressive websites everywhere. The bone of contention: the conclusion of the paper that the Jewish-Israeli lobby dominates U.S. foreign policy and subjugates it to Israeli interests - in glaring contradiction to the national interest of the US itself. A case in point: the American assault on Iraq.

Chomsky and others rose up against this assertion. They do not deny the factual findings of the two professors, but object to their conclusions. In their view, it is not the Israel lobby that directs American policy, but the interests of the big corporations that dominate the American empire and exploit Israel for their own selfish aims.

Simply put: does the dog wag its tail, or does the tail wag its dog?

I am nervous about sticking my head into a debate between such illustrious intellectuals, but I feel obliged to express my view nevertheless.

I'll start with the Jew, who went to the Rabbi and complained about his neighbor. "You are right", the Rabbi declared. Then came the neighbor and denounced the complainant. "You are right", the Rabbi announced. "But how can that be", exclaimed the Rabbi's wife, "Only one of the two can be right!" "You are right, too", the Rabbi said.

I find myself in a similar situation. I think that both sides are right (and hope to be right, myself, too).

The findings of the two professors are right to the last detail. Every Senator and Congressman knows that criticizing the Israeli government is political suicide. Two of them, a Senator and a Congressman, tried - and were politically executed [Rep Paul Findley and Senator Charles Percy. Eds.] The Jewish lobby was fully mobilized against them and hounded them out of office. This was done openly, to set a public example. If the Israeli government wanted a law tomorrow annulling the Ten Commandments, 95 U.S. Senators (at least) would sign the bill forthwith.

President Bush, for example, has withdrawn from all the established American positions regarding our conflict. He accepts automatically the positions of our government, be they as they may. Almost all the American media are closed to Palestinians and Israeli peace activists. As to professors - almost all of them know which side of their bread is peanut-buttered. If, in spite of that, somebody dares to open their mouth against the Israeli policy - as happens once every few years - they are smothered under a volley of denunciations: anti-Semite, Holocaust denier, neo-Nazi.

By the way, American guests in Israel, who know that at home it is forbidden to mention the influence of the Jewish-Israeli lobby, are dumbfounded to see that here the lobby does not hide its power in Washington but openly boasts of it.

The question, therefore, is not whether the two professors are right in their findings. The question is what conclusions can be drawn from them.

Let's take the Iraq affair. Who is the dog? Who the tail?

The Israeli government prayed for this attack, which has eliminated the strategic threat posed by Iraq. America was pushed into the war by a group of Neo-Conservatives, almost all of them Jews, who had a huge influence on the White House. In the past, some of them had acted as advisers to Binyamin Netanyahu.

On the face of it, a clear case. The pro-Israeli lobby pushed for the war; Israel is its main beneficiary. If the war ends in a disaster for America, Israel will undoubtedly be blamed.

Really? What about the American aim of getting their hands on the main oil reserves of the world, in order to dominate the world economy? What about the aim of placing an American garrison in the center of the main oil-producing area, on top of the Iraqi oil, between the oil of Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Caspian Sea? What about the immense influence of the big oil companies on the Bush family? What about the big multinational corporations, whose outstanding representative is Dick Cheney, that hoped to make hundreds of billions from the "reconstruction of Iraq"?

The lesson of the Iraq affair is that the American-Israeli connection is strongest when it seems that American interests and Israeli interests are one (irrespective of whether that is really the case in the long run). The US uses Israel to dominate the Middle East, Israel uses the US to dominate Palestine.

But if something exceptional happens, such as the Jonathan Pollard espionage affair or the sale of an Israeli spy plane to China, and a gap opens between the interests of the two sides, America is quite capable of slapping Israel in the face.

American-Israeli relations are indeed unique. It seems that they have no precedent in history. It is as if King Herod had given orders to Augustus Caesar and appointed the members of the Roman senate.

I don't think that this phenomenon can be wholly explained by economic interests. Even the most orthodox Marxist must recognize that it also has a spiritual dimension. It is no accident that American (as well as British) fundamentalist Christians invented the Zionist idea well before Theodor Herzl hit upon it. The evangelical lobby is no less important in today's Washington than the Zionist one. According to its ideology, the Jews must take possession of all the Holy Land in order to make the Second Coming of Christ possible (and then - the part they don't shout about - some Jews will become Christians and the rest will be annihi-

(**Avnery** *continued on page 6*)

Editors
Alexander Cockburn
Jeffrey St. Clair

Business
Becky Grant
Deva Wheeler

Assistant Editor
Alevtina Rea

Counselor
Ben Sonnenberg

Published twice monthly except August, 22 issues a year

CounterPunch.
All rights reserved.
CounterPunch
PO Box 228
Petrolia, CA 95558
1-800-840-3683 (phone)
counterpunch@counterpunch.org
www.counterpunch.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Abominable Dr. Ishii

The Pentagon and the Japanese

By Christopher Reed

Everyone has heard of Auschwitz, but what about Pingfan? This Japanese germ warfare headquarters and laboratory in Manchuria, northern China, did not hold as many victims, but atrocities committed there were physically worse than in the Nazi concentration camp, and lasted much longer.

Many people know of Dr. Josef Mengele, the Nazi SS "Angel of Death" and a physician (though not chief medical officer) at Auschwitz from 1943-45. There, he deliberately infected prisoners with deadly diseases and conducted fatal surgeries, often without anesthetic. He escaped and lived in South America undiscovered until after his death at 68 in 1979 in Brazil.

But who has heard of Dr. Shiro Ishii? He was the chief of Japan's well financed, scientifically coordinated and government approved biological warfare program from 1932-45. Ishii rose to general and supervised deliberate infection of thousands of captives with deadly diseases. He also conducted grotesque surgeries, but the unique medical specialty of Ishii and his surgical team were dissections, without anesthetic, on an estimated 3,000 live, conscious humans. In 1959, Ishii, a wealthy man, died peacefully at home in Japan at the age of 67.

Why the discrepancy of knowledge about these two monsters ? After so long, why does it still matter? The answer to both questions lies in policies of secrecy and complicity that continue today. They should concern Japanese, of course, but also Americans.

It is because of U.S. connivance in Japanese secrecy that Tokyo's biological war has yet to be fully disclosed. Its estimated 400,000 disease deaths, almost all Chinese, remain uncompensated. Japan, unlike Germany with its commendable atonement and billions of dollars in reparations, has yet even to apologize specifically for biological war victims, let alone pay compensation for suffering from its nationally driven medical torture program.

On my desk are two documents previously marked Top Secret and dated July 1947. They show not only full U.S. participation in allowing the Japanese medical torturers who escaped to Tokyo to go free in exchange for information, but that the Pentagon actually paid them. As General Charles Willoughby, chief of U.S. Military Intelligence (known as G-2) gleefully noted to his headquarters, these pay-offs were "a mere pittance... netting the U.S. the fruit of 20 years' laboratory tests and research" in this "critically serious form of warfare."

General Willoughby's conclusion: "Data on human experiments may prove invaluable... and Japanese may now reveal research in chemical warfare [and] death rays." Ishii was later invited to lecture on these matters at Ft. Detrick.

Meanwhile, as Ishii and his cohorts pocketed U.S. taxpayers' money, the Soviet Union was preparing a criminal court hearing for 12 Japanese bug scientists they caught at Pingfan, just after its demolition by Ishii's men.

The trial in Khabarovsk resulted in all 12 being sentenced from 2-25 years, but three years earlier, in 1946, the Soviet prosecutor had given his U.S. equivalent in Tokyo the main evidence. Nothing happened. After the Khabarovsk verdict, the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* demanded Ishii's arrest and trial. General Douglas MacArthur, Japan's occupation supremo, denounced *Izvestia* and the trial as "false communist propaganda". Obedient Western media ignored the Soviet charges. Silence then reigned for decades.

Then in 1981 American journalist John Powell, who had obtained the Khabarovsk transcript, published in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* details of open-air germ tests on captured Chinese and Russian men, women and children. Some were bound to stakes in a large field and bombarded with anthrax. Others were subjected to germs of bubonic plague, cholera, smallpox, typhus and typhoid, and women to syphilis.

And, in an excruciating irony, he told how Chinese captives had been killed by their livers being exposed to X-rays. Persistent rumors of Japanese eating livers of bio-victims have never been proved. But, the world's first use of radiation against a wartime enemy was carried out by... Japan. Its biological warfare (BW) was also illegal, since all such experiments were banned by the 1925 Geneva Convention, which Japan signed.

The media headlined what they called Unit 731. This was the name of the commanding Pingfan imperial army group, and the one that became best known, but at least nine units functioned with apparently random numbers, dotted over China and Japanese-occupied Asia. All came under Pingfan, which had been specially constructed near the town of Harbin. It occupied 65 square kilometers, contained 150 buildings with cinema, a swimming pool, Shinto temple, lounge, bar. and laboratories, operating theaters, and prison cells. It was serviced by its own rail branch line and had fleets of vehicles and airplanes.

During the 1981 burst of publicity, Justice B.V.A Roling, a Dutchman and the only surviving judge from the International Military Tribunal for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Far East in Tokyo, Asia's Nuremberg, complained that no word about biological warfare had been offered in evidence. He wrote: "It is a bitter experience for me to be informed now that centrally ordered Japanese war criminality of the most disgusting kind was kept secret from the court by the U.S. government."

General Willoughby and officials of MacArthur's Supreme Command for the Allied Powers in Tokyo had succeeded in suppressing evidence from Ishii and colleagues, but separate inquiries were made by the International Prosecution Section (IPS). Its lawyers gathered evidence including detailed statements from defecting Japanese bio-scientists from Pingfan. The latter testified to human live vivisection, the dumping of lethal germs in Chinese water supplies and food stores, as well as aerial spraying. Yet all was silenced even though the information went to the top.

IPS documents stamped "to be read by the Commander-in-Chief U.S. forces" were sent to President Harry Truman in 1947. No word has ever emerged on what Truman thought or said about this evidence. It is one of many still unknown facts about the Japanese-American conspiracy to conceal the complete account of the Japanese bio-warfare horror.

At Fort Detrick, Maryland, the main U.S. installation for BW, records remain on file of the thousands of tissue slides, preserved organs (some labeled "American") removed from living bodies, with medical schedules and reports on perverse surgical procedures on screaming and writhing human specimens.

General Willoughby listed the five most important items providing "the greatest value in future development of the United States BW program." These included the Japanese scientists' "complete report" of "BW against man" that Willoughby described as "the only information available in world"; "field trials against Chinese" such as Powell described; using animals as deadly bacteria conveyors" ("U.S. has done little work in this field"); and a "summary of the human experiments." The G-2 heard it all.

The general's conclusion: "Data on human experiments may prove invaluable... and Japanese may now reveal research in chemical warfare [and] death rays." Did they? We do not know.

Next came the self-praise and grumbles in which military men like to indulge. The results, said G-2, "were only obtainable through skillful psychological approach to top-flight pathologists bound by mutual oath not to incriminate each other in these disclosures. They were assisted by direct payments, payments in-kind (food, miscellaneous gift items, entertainment), hotel bills, board (in areas of search for buried evidence, etc.) All of these actions did not amount to more that 150/200,000 Yen." This amounted to only $2,000 in today's money, not allowing for inflation

Then came the grumbles. The "pittance" in funds came from the military intelligence department's budget, but this was now restricted. Willoughby wrote to his boss in Washington D.C., General S.J. Chamberlin: "We shall find it successively more difficult to induce these people to disclose information" without more money. He mentioned "unanimous protests" from the spooks against "the absurdity of these restrictions."

The unique medical specialty of Ishii and his surgical team were dissections, without anesthetic, on nearly 3,000 live, conscious humans...Lethal germs were dumped in Chinese water supplies and food stores, as well as aerial spraying.

Today those crimes live on. It becomes clearer as time passes that the U.S.A. did indeed use the "fruits" of its Japanese information in germ attacks during the Korean War (1950-53) – still officially denied. Meanwhile, Japan continues to conceal other details of its wartime research. Masses of documents may have been destroyed. In 2002 in Japan, 180 Chinese victims and relatives from Hunan and Zhejiang provinces brought a court case. The Japanese judge agreed they had been infected by plague-carrying fleas dropped by Unit 731 planes, but rejected their compensation claim on legal grounds. The case continues on appeal.

Chinese anger against this and other unresolved Japanese war crimes increases as a new generation reviews the past. The issue will gain momentum while Japan continues to shunt aside its wrongs against Asian neighbors. The world should take notice . Why should Pingfan, Unit 731, and Dr. Shiro Ishii remain obscure names known mainly to historians? CP

Editors' note: Under the overall codename Project Paperclip US intelligence agencies made similarly diligent efforts to acquire the research records of Nazi doctors working in the death camps. They also brought over several of the Nazi medical experimenters and set them to work in US military research centers such as Ft. Detrick. The Nazi research was quickly put into play in the field. In 1950, the CIA's Office of Security, headed at the time by Sheffield Edwards, opened a project called Bluebird whose object was to get an individual "to do our bidding against his will and even against such fundamental laws of nature as self-preservation." The first Bluebird operations were conducted in Japan in October 1950 and were reportedly witnessed by Richard Helms, who would later run the Agency. Twenty-five North Korean POWs were given alternating doses of depressants and stimulants. The POWs were shot up with barbitutes, putting them to sleep, then abruptly awoken with injections of amphetamines, put under hypnosis, then interrogated. The operation was, of course, in total contravention of international protocols. The Bluebird interrogations continued through the duration of the Korean War. This history is laid out in detail in our book *Whiteout: the CIA, Drugs and the Press*, Verso, available from our office. AC/JSC.

Christopher Reed is a journalist, living outside Tokyo. He can be reached at christopherreed@earthlink.net

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(**Howl** *continued from page 1)*
chic" and Allan's low, sad "no one sucks cock to be chic". (We leave Barron here. A tad later he killed himself by shoving a pencil up his nose.)

Sometime after it was published, I heard Allen read his *Kaddish* called that after the Jewish prayer for the dead. He wasn't a great voice. But he didn't have to be. The poem, listened to or read, automatically impresses anyone with the least interest in people. Later Charlie Foster, arguably the greatest poetry reciter of his day, privately read *Howl* to me. Inspired by his deep voiced rendition, I've read it in public to thunderous applause. But the credit belongs to Charlie.

I met Allen some years later, at an antiwar rally in San Francisco. He made enough money from *Howl* to go to India. His bookish Buddhism became a certainty while burning the dead with the monks. That kind of basic reality can be a step on the path to fundamental human understanding. But in his case Buddhism was little more than a sublimation of his sexually-based passive character. He was a lamb who found the perfect philosophy for gentle baaing sheep, and he got ever deeper into bleating.

In the 60s he was thought of as a radical pacifist. After the Hell's Angels attacked an anti-draft march in Oakland, he walked into their local HQ with some LSD and cooled them. They never bothered the movement again. But there was also a pathetic liberal side to Ginsberg that most of his present fans aren't aware of.

I clerked in Eli Wilentz's Eighth Street Bookshop in 1972. It had America's biggest selection of contemporary poetry. Allen frequently came by. One day he told me that he was for George McGovern for President. As I knew of murders committed by Democratic administrations in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and

Indochina, I challenged him. "McGovern stopped coming to antiwar rallies in 1969 so that he wouldn't scare the public into thinking he was a red." Allen was glum for a couple of minutes, until a youth interrupted us to ask him a question about poetry. He excused himself, saying he'd be right back. In nothing flat he was happy, chatting with a fellow poet. Then and there I decided not to pull him away from what he was good at, to attend to politics, where he was as useless as the tits on a bull. After all, it is hard to envision Buddha voting, much less voting for a party that killed over one million people in Indochina, most of them Buddhists.

If you believe that the goal of life is to escape from it, that victories and defeats are equally meaningless in the end, you tend not to bother to learn from either. But, as a sensitive person, he wanted the Indochina horror to end. Voting Democrat was what such touchy-feelies did when they came to the blank in the questionnaire where it asks, "what are you doing about it?", and they hadn't a clue as to what to really do to build the antiwar movement.

Life was a photo-album. Snapshots on the road to death. "What's the work? To ease the pain of living. Everything else? Built-in dumb show." If the antiwar movement invited him to speak, good, that would be a photo in his album. If not, good, there would be an other in its place. With such it is as with the apostle John: "In the beginning was the Word." But in life it is Goethe who got it right: "The deed is all."

One day in 1984, a fellow in Greenwich Village gave me a 'vote for Walter Mondale' leaflet. We chatted, and he introduced himself. "Carl Solomon." "From Howl?" "Yeah." Its full title was "Howl for Carl Solomon." Allen dedicated his 1956 masterpiece to Carl, then in Rockland, New York State's lunatic asylum. He met him earlier, in his own eight-month stay in Columbia Psychiatric Institute.

There he was, off the printed page, quite sane and a nice guy, but plotting "the Hebrew socialist revolution against the fascist national Golgotha" he was not. As he told me to vote for his party, it controlled the congressional CIA oversight committee. Those Democrats and the Reagan White House were arming Afghani Islamic fundamentalists against the Soviet Union and women's rights.

Sometimes a poet tells us about a character, sometimes his character tells us about the poet. The 50s and 60s saw an uprising of the most suppressed and repressed of Americans. The traditional official values re ethnicity and sexuality collapsed. But the whole of the insurgency was greater than the sum of its parts. The active minority of blacks who sat-in or rioted weren't bent on restructuring the whole of society. Nor were most anti-Vietnam war demonstrators seriously thinking about other aspects of U.S. imperialism. Still less were the Beats revolutionaries. They looked for the truest of the truest mantra-chanting holy men, not dross earthly power.

Ferlinghetti and the ACLU's victory was the end of government literary censorship. But, unfortunately, the proverb remains true: "Better a leap over a hedge than a bishop's prayer." Although Allen was the most famous gay of his day, his "flower power", i.e., chanting mantras and playing finger cymbals at left demos, didn't liberate them. It took a 1969 riot, a swinging brawl against the cops in the Village's Stonewall Inn, to spark the mass movement that has achieved so much. Eventually the saner of "the best minds" of his generation lost interest in Allen's ongoing poetry, even while his fame grew among tens of millions of youths, worldwide, who studied his early masterpieces in English lit classes.

Their separate actions shook America to its foundations, and blacks, women, the disabled and others gained much. Gays were decriminalized. But most in attendance in those stormy events were, like Allen, politically semi-literate Democrats, hurled into motion on their issues by the momentum

SUBSCRIPTION INFO

Enter/Renew Subscription here:

One year $40 Two yrs $70
($35 email only / $45 email/print)
One year institution/supporters $100
One year student/low income, $30
T-shirts, $17
Please send back issue(s)
($5/issue)

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Payment must accompany order, or dial 1-800-840-3683 and renew by credit card. Add $12.50 for Canadian and $17.50 for foreign subscriptions. If you want Counter-Punch emailed to you please supply your email address. Make checks payable to: **CounterPunch**
Business Office

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

generated by each other's gains. When their upsurge ebbed, as it had to, given their limited goals, Allen's "Moloch," ye rich, ye lawyers and ye hack politicians, still produced and directed the show. The profound poetic personal and social voice that won the public ear lost its strength when the people lost their strength.

I ran into Allen again in the early 90s at PEN, the writers' organization. He had enough literary morality left to be a member of their Freedom to Write Committee. But he never criticized it. They were the English-lit class pretending to be the poli-sci class. They wrote letters to dictators, asking them to kindly please release some writers in their dungeons. Most gorillas flipped their letters into the round file. They didn't have to do a damned thing for some do-gooder committee in far off America, which would do nothing worse to them then sending another letter.

I proposed that PEN's celebrity authors should testify before congressional committees, focusing on despotic regimes subsidized by Washington. If they demanded that the U.S.A. stop funding them and followed up with letters to newspapers in their home states, the hacks would worry about losing votes if they went on patronizing criminal regimes. But the Committee didn't want to antagonize the Democrats, domestically their lesser evil, better than the Republicans re the National Endowment for the Arts.

Allen would sit like a lump, silently, while the chair and her cronies argued that PEN would lose its nonprofit status if they so testified. I knew it wouldn't have happened. But I said that, if they were worried, "we could set up another organization just so it could testify". After a few months I quit in disgust.

I didn't see Allen again until a few weeks before his death in 1997. He was poking around in a Salvation Army store on 8th Avenue in Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood. I asked if he was still with PEN. "Yes." I said goodbye and headed for the art books.

Who could hate Allen? And I sing his praises in that our last meeting was in a Sally. He had gotten huge bucks for his papers. But neither world fame nor material fortune changed that infinitely honest, humble soul. Unfortunately nothing could.

By the end, oral fixation was all there was to him. Neo-con Norman Podhoretz knew him from their student days at Columbia University. His August 1997 *Commentary* magazine obit said that "as a poet, he never grew or developed (even most of his admirers think that nothing he wrote after 1959 was as good as *Howl* and *Kaddish*)."

The rightist was right. CP

Lenni Brenner is the editor of "51 Documents: Zionist Collaboration with the Nazis," and a contributor to CounterPunch's *The Politics of Anti-Semitism* and *Serpents in the Garden*,

(**Avnery** *continued from page 2)*

lated at Armageddon, today's Megiddo in Northern Israel).

At the basis of the phenomenon lies the uncanny similarity between the two national-religious stories, the American myth and the Israeli. In both, pioneers persecuted for their religion reached the shores of the Promised Land. They were forced to defend themselves against the "savage" natives, who were out to destroy them. They redeemed the land, made the desert bloom, and created, with God's help, a flourishing, democratic and moral society.

Both societies live in a state of denial and unconscious guilt feelings– over there because of the genocide committed against the Native Americans and the horrifying slavery of the blacks, here because of the uprooting of half the Palestinian people and the oppression of the other half.

Both here and there, people believe in an eternal war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

Anyhow, the American-Israeli symbiosis is unique and far too complex a phenomenon to be described as a simple conspiracy. I am sure that the two professors did not mean to do so.

The dog wags the tail and the tail wags the dog. They wag each other. CP

Uri Avnery, a former member of the Knesset, is a peace activist with Gush Shalom. He is a contributor to CounterPunch's book *The Politics of Anti-Semitism*, available from our office.

CounterPunch
PO Box 228
Petrolia, CA 95558

Phone 1-800-840-3683 for our new t-shirts and for advance orders of CounterPunch's new book The Case Against Israel *by Michael Neumann.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED